



This **4th**
OF
JULY

BY Milton Howard

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THIS 4TH of JULY

BY MILTON HOWARD

*"Ring out sweet bell of Liberty
"No flaw can still the immortal voice."*

JULY FOURTH—Independence Day. On this day especially the thoughts of America turn to the love of our country, to the meaning of its birth as an independent, united nation and to dreams of its future.

Love of country. It is one of the deepest of man's emotions.

But it is possible to love it in different ways. Most Americans love our country as a son loves his mother; but there are some among us who love it as a cannibal loves his victim.

It is recorded that when the bell of Liberty pealed forth the joyful tidings in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, that the last of the "immigrants and revolutionists" had signed the Declaration of Independence "there was dismay in the best families."

The Tories of 1776 have a spiritual descendant in the Republican Tory of the New York City Club, who, the papers reported in March of this year, had an apoplectic fit when someone read to him, as an example of true Americanism, the following passage:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The Republican Tory of 1938, tax-dodger, profits chiseler and enemy of the New Deal, had forgotten that these noble lines are the soul of America's Declaration of Independence, for which the people joyously heard the Liberty Bell ring on July 4, 1776, and which caused such "dismay in the best families."

The false Americans who "love" our country for what they can sweat from the people, and the profits they can chisel from America's natural resources, have always "been dismayed" by the revolutionary baptism of America as a nation. And at every crucial point in the struggle between

democracy and minority privilege, they have always started to "resign" from democratic America like the apoplectic coupon-clipper of the City Club.

The slave-holders tried to "resign" from American democracy in 1860. The common earth of our country ran with blood, the blood of its lowliest sons who defended the national unity of our country.

In 1776, when Washington was hastening to the North to take command of America's people's army, the New York Governor was plotting treason, and bands of Tory families tried to organize secession movements in New Hampshire and Vermont.

When Thomas Jefferson, after eleven years of Federalist suppression of free speech, was swept into the Presidency in 1801, Aaron Burr, with the active protection and encouragement of the Supreme Court Chief Justice Marshall, plotted to split the Western states away from the United States.

In 1812, when America fought her second revolutionary war against the British monarchy which made a second attempt to kill the new nation, the merchants and bankers of New England met in the notorious Hartford Convention of Connecticut where they aided the monarchy by threatening that New England would secede from the Union.

In the 1890's, when Bryan and the populist movement rose up to cry for relief against the all-conquering domination of the Wall Street financial interests, was it not written

in the New York press that "if Bryan won, the East would secede from the United States"?

And when in 1936 forty-six states gave President Roosevelt the biggest popular plurality in America's history, did not the rascal Hearst, today in the pay of Hitler, spit his contempt at our democracy by writing editorially that "only two states remain which are American"?

This is the trickery by which the powerful and the rich always identify their own greedy interests with "patriotism."

After all, against what tyranny did the thirteen colonies take up arms in seven year struggle in order to achieve nationhood?

It was the tyranny which deprived them of the possibility of developing to the full the resources of America for the benefit of its people.

It was the desire to grow and use the resources of America in the spirit of independence and as a united nation, which fired the flames of American rebellion in 1776.

And today, when billionaire trusts choke the economic life of America, when they sabotage production to protect their privileges, when they sit on the lid of America's factories and keep the fires of industry cold to strike terror into the heart of America's people, let us recall that it was in a struggle against sabotage, stifling restriction of popular welfare, that America was born.

The American people of 1776 expressed their indignation through town meetings, petitions, and boycotts. And just as there are snivelling hypocrites who will warn the

American people not to boycott the Nazi manufactures and Japanese silk, both soaked in blood of slavery and murder, there were snivelling Tories who trembled at the mention of an anti-British boycott.

An American historian has written:

"It seems a miracle that America could have really won the war against Britain when one considers that Tories worked persistently in secret to cause it to lose, when the apathy and separation of the states added difficulties to inexperience, dissension, faint-heartedness, and terrible lack of equipment."

Yes, it was a miracle wrought by the unfaltering devotion of the common people to the banner of Washington. When the ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia were entertaining the officers of the British General Howe, Washington and his barefooted soldiers were freezing at Valley Forge.

Every revolution, every forward movement of the people, has its traitors. And treachery always begins with a kiss, as with Judas. Benedict Arnold was for a brief time considered a "hero"; he turned traitor because he did not trust the people.

How many Americans know that Washington's second in command, General Charles Lee, was a spy in the service of the British Ministry? This was discovered for the first time in 1857, eighty years after the event. Weak-spirited and philistine historians are afraid to let the people know these truths.

How many of us Americans know that there was a Confederate spy in Lincoln's Cabinet, and that his name cannot be made public before 1947?

Reaction and hate of the people always degenerate to treason and conspiracy. The people of the Soviet Union learned that when they uncovered and speedily crushed the nest of Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies working with the fascist agents of Hitler. The people of Spain are paying a terrible price in their fight for liberty for their failure to stamp out in time the traitors like Franco in their midst. The Francos who whine about their "love for traditional Spain" do not hesitate to bring in the armies of the invader and mercenaries to drown their country in blood.

We Americans had our own Trotskys and Francos. And when the stupid or faint-hearted cried aloud at the "unfairness to the Tories," George Washington fumed in anger and roared: "They all ought to be hanged by us or by themselves."

But treason at home always finds help from reaction abroad. Just as British tyranny sent its network of spies into America and into democratic France, so today the Hitler Nazi network reaches into America to poison our democracy.

And just as the British found a Benedict Arnold in our ranks, so today Hitlerism is finding active support from the Economic Royalists who dream more and more of a fascist America. Why did Hoover visit Goering in Berlin? Why did Hitler send an emissary to Senator Vandenberg

of Michigan as the press rumored? Why did the National Committee of the Republican Party finance the Jew-baiting speeches of Dr. Griehl in 1936 against President Roosevelt?

Thus the enemies of the people today are clasping hands with America's foreign enemies to betray her and our democratic liberties.

The enemies of democracy have always worked through violence and terrorism to gain their ends. General Conway conspired at Washington's assassination during the Valley Forge days. The slaveocracy assassinated Lincoln as it went down to defeat. And today, the cry for the assassination of Roosevelt is muttered and mouthed in the reactionary press, and shrieked by the Silver Shirts, the Nazis of America. Wall Street plots violence against democracy today.

It was as early as 1787, when Jefferson was fighting for a Bill of Rights in the new Constitution, that he was denounced as a "*Parisian revolutionary monster*" by Timothy Pickering who was to become Secretary of State under John Adams.

Notice how the Hearsts of that day used the same tricks—how they tried to smear the most sacred of native revolutionary-democratic achievements of America as "foreign," as "Parisian." Today, the enemies of the popular welfare have merely changed "Parisian" to the slander about "orders from Moscow."

Let us remember this generating force of American democracy today as we watch the heroic struggles of Spanish

democracy. Thomas Jefferson saw that the fate of our own young democracy depended on the defeat of the British attacks against the new French democracy. And he boldly called for America to help France win her freedom, just as we Americans should demand that our government fulfil its duty to the legally-elected democratic government of Spain, fighting the dogs of treason and fascism, by lifting the embargo against her.

"Aliens," sneered the Federalists at Jefferson. But it was an "alien" Thomas Paine whose arrival in America in 1774 helped turn the tide for liberty and independence through the immortal pamphlet, *Common Sense*. It was "aliens" like DeKalb, Lafayette, Kosciusko, and others who helped America become an independent nation.

July 4, 1776, was the glorious affirmation of the belief in democracy, in the rule of the majority, in their right to determine their own destiny.

There were many in Jefferson's day who feared this doctrine, and there are many today in America who prate its syllables but who connive secretly to undermine and nullify it.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, hard-faced man of property, rose to warn that "the worst of all evils is political democracy," and Alexander Hamilton rose to declare "that he did not think favorably of the republican form of government." (Records of the Constitutional Convention, Farrand, Vol. I, p. 269.)

It was salty Ben Franklin who rose to reply to these arguments against the "rich and well-born," against the theory that wealth came to the "best people." "Of all the rogues I have known," he said, "some have been the richest rogues."

And that wisecrack of beloved Franklin has echoed down to our present day when we think of the Hearst born with a silver spoon in his mouth using his great wealth to poison America, when we think of the Barbara Mdivanis and Park Avenue heiresses who take their plunder of American toil to other lands to escape American taxes. How beloved Franklin would turn in his grave if he knew that Hoover was using his name to scheme against the common people of America.

The Tories and Federalists rewarded Franklin by besmirching his statue in Philadelphia in the election fight of 1800, and the young aristocratic bullies tore it down! True forerunners of the thugs and Hague gangs of today, true forerunners of the Girdlers and the Rands who stain American democracy with the blood of American labor.

The contempt for democracy forced the reactionaries of Jefferson's day to create a fortress for special privilege in the Supreme Court. And ever since, they have used it for that purpose. The Supreme Court was deep in treasonous conspiracy against democracy in 1803 when Marshall protected the traitor Burr and set him free. It was deep in conspiracy when it conspired secretly with President Buchanan in the Dred Scott decision of 1857. It con-

spires with reaction today when Justice Hughes pulls the strings against the New Deal and the social awakening of the people.

Jefferson hotly denounced the idea that the Founders of America ever intended to give the Supreme Court the right to nullify the popular will.

"In a government founded on the public will, this principle [that the Courts can veto Congressional legislation] operates in the opposite direction and against that will. We have made the judiciary independent of the nation itself. . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. X, p. 30.)

These words would make the Tories; the Hoovers, the *Chicago Tribunes*, the Hearsts and Coughlins of today shiver in their beds. It would make them cry "communism."

And they wouldn't be so wrong at that. For in truth, the fight for the advancement of the people, for the extension of democracy and peace, has fallen today to the Communists. "Communism is twentieth century Americanism," Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, has truly said.

We Communists believe passionately in the simple truth that the people shall have the right to determine their destiny, and that whatever hampers or hinders the welfare of the majority is wrong and should be changed. We honor and cherish the democratic heritage which Jefferson, Paine, and Lincoln have left us.

The great problem of the Founding Fathers was to solve the problem of democracy in the face of the fact that even then wealth was in the hands of a minority. How can there be democracy when a man with little or no property must be dependent upon a man who controls great properties?

Jefferson dreamed of an agrarian democracy with small, independent farmers as its backbone. Today, half of America's farmers are renters, while the whole working class is propertyless, and 1 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of America's wealth.

Some day, the message of socialism, of communism—that the people will have true democracy only when the people control their economic destiny through their taking over of the country's industries and national wealth—will have majority support. The glorious example of the Soviet Union shows what the people can accomplish under socialism.

But today, with millions facing starvation through unemployment, the fight for security and for jobs is a fight at the same time for democracy. The American people need a program that will give them jobs, either in private industry, or, if the trusts continue their sabotage, then on government public works.

The right of every American to a job at decent pay is true patriotism, and true Americanism! That's what we Communist Americans say. Sound Americanism, isn't it?

Millions of American workers who have given their lives to industry are flung onto the heap of the jobless. Millions

of youth cannot find work or scope for development. The spectre of insecurity darkens millions of American homes. True patriotism, true Americanism, is to provide adequate safeguards for the security of the American people. *Security through jobs or public works, and adequate relief, social insurance, old-age pension systems, etc., are what we American Communists fight for! Pretty sound Americanism, isn't it?*

America opposes war. The American people watch the Hitler and Mussolini bullies lighting new fires of war in Europe, in Africa, while their militarist ally, Japan, lights the fires of war in China. Shall we remain paralyzed until these war-makers touch off a world explosion which will bring death and suffering to America? Can any reasonable person expect that a world war will leave America untouched?

We Communists believe that President Roosevelt was right when he said in his speech at Chicago on October 5, 1937, that "war is a plague that must be quarantined." America, as a great nation, has the responsibility of taking active steps to unite with the other peace forces of the world against the fascist bullies.

We Communists say that America can stay out of war if war is kept out of the world. The so-called isolationists think that they can keep America out of war by taking America out of the world. It can't be done; it actually leads America straight to war in the swiftest possible way, since it leaves the most active war-makers unhampered in

their bloody work. Cooperation with other nations to preserve world peace is true Americanism!

Jobs, security, democracy and peace! This is the best heritage of July 4, 1776. This is real Americanism as Jefferson understood it, as Lincoln understood it. The Hearsts and Red-baiters violate this real Americanism with brutal hypocrisy.

Today princes of privilege conspire against the mandate of the people given in the 1936 election. They plot to lead America into the trap of race-hatred, suppression of civil liberty, toward fascism. We Communists earnestly offer ourselves and our services as Americans to the common democratic front which is growing as the fortress of democracy against the new tyranny of fascism.

Thus we Communists, flesh and blood of America, pay tribute to those fighters for democracy who came before us, and whose work we carry forward.

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

BY EARL BROWDER

Speech delivered at the Tenth National Convention of the
Communist Party of the United States, May 28, 1938

An authoritative statement by its General Secretary on the position of the Communist Party on the major issues confronting America today, including the offensive of reaction, the building of the democratic front for victory in the 1938 elections, concerted action against the war aggressors, the problem of winning the Catholic masses, the role of the Communist Party in American political life, the traditions and revolutionary heritage of the American people, and the ultimate objective of the Communist Party, the socialist reorganization of society.

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